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# DEMOCRACY, EDUCATION and THE NEW DISPENSATION

## A CONSTRUCTIVE ESSAY IN SOCIAL THEORY

With an Epistolary Introduction Addressed to

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING  
(Canadian Minister of Finance)

AND

ROBERT ALEXANDER FALCONER, Lit.D., LL.D.  
(President of the University of Toronto)

BY

J. D. LOGAN, M.A. (Dal. Univ.), Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.)

Formerly Head of the Department and Professor of English  
and Philosophy in the State University of South Dakota.  
Author of "The Structural Principles of Style,"  
"Quantitative Punctuation," "The Religious  
Function of Comedy," Etc.



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## DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHANT.

*(To Canada and the Future.)*

O latest Warden of Democracy,  
The Nations westward turn their eager eyes  
On thee to watch thy aspirant hosts arise  
A mighty people, strong, reliant, free,  
With souls unstained by foulest sorcery  
Of noxious demagogues whose wiles disguise  
Their sanguine lusts, and whose polluted lies  
Besmirk the fairest form of Liberty!

Not with a Titan's strength shalt thou be strong,  
Nor build thine empire with the power that can:  
No kingdom bides whose pillars stand on wrong:—  
Free first the bonds that bind the mind of Man,  
Then Truth shall triumph (though the strife be long)  
And Earth bloom loveliest since the world began.

J. D. LOGAN.

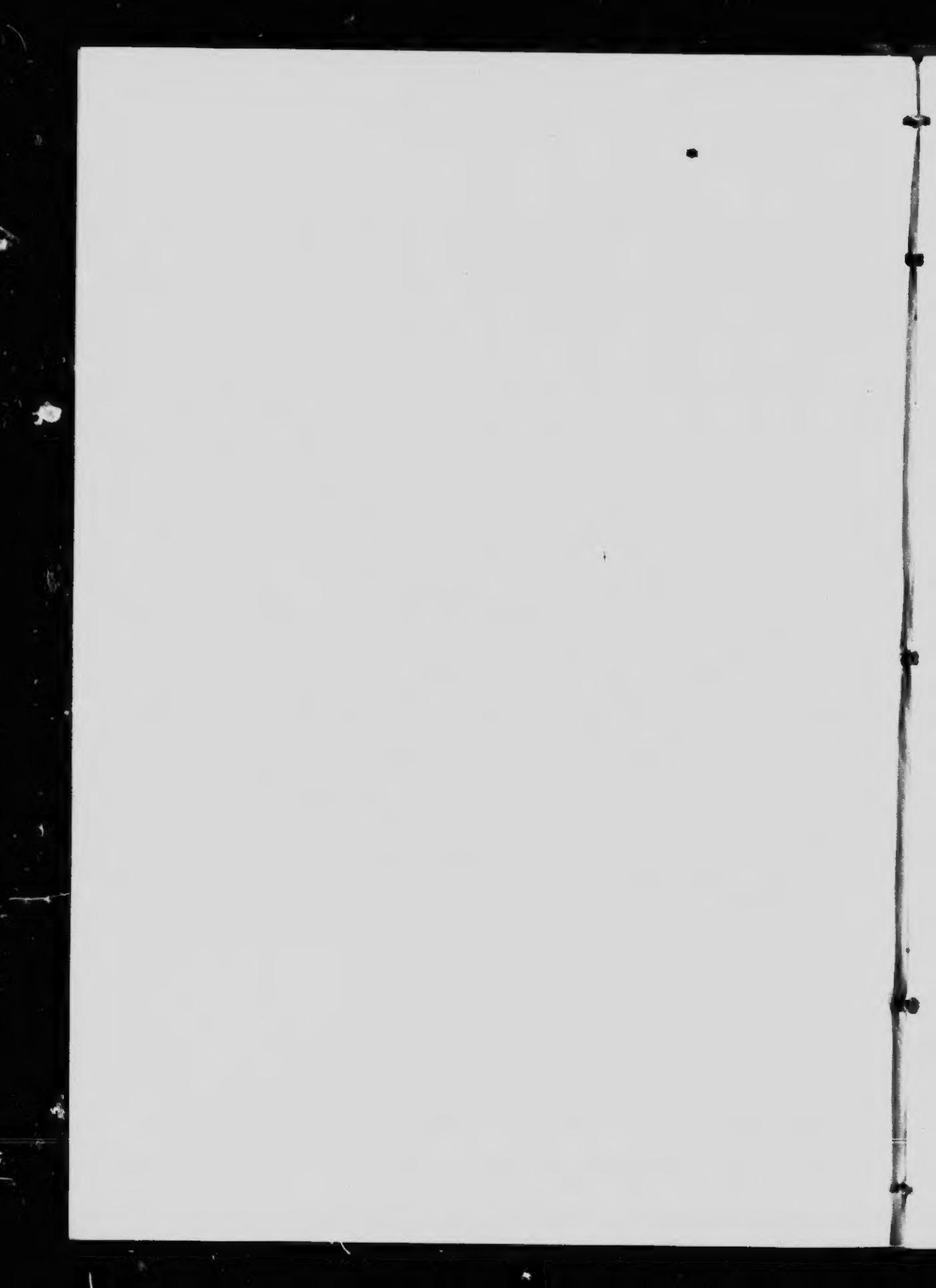
## PREFATORY NOTE

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The method of the following essay is critical; the aim, constructive: namely, to show that the conventional formulas of Democracy contradict the ideals meant to be expressed by them, to define these ideals accurately, to determine their objective warrant in human nature and social necessity, and to apply the new concepts of Democracy to the field of Education.

The contents of the essay are based on several years of first-hand observation and study of the political and social ideals of Democracy in the United States and Canada. There is nothing in it academic; every criticism, reflection or sentiment is thoroughly human.

The author hopes that if the essay have any practical value, this may be found, not in the ideas which it conveys to the intellect, but in the ideals of social life and endeavor which it is designed to inspire. Its purpose, in short, is to make it patent that the existence of social order and the unequal distribution of material goods are the absolutely natural and necessary condition of that genuine Democracy which, when it has become extant and effective, will inspire all men—the lowlier their social origin the greater the inspiration—to achieve an honorable and excellent career. For genuine Democracy, as the essay will define it, comes to provide the sphere and opportunity for all men to possess themselves of their spiritual birthright—those enduring satisfactions of life, which shall be denied only to the base, the indolent and the unwise, namely, culture, honorable station, decent independence and influential vocation.



## EPISTOLARY INTRODUCTION

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TO WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING, *Canadian Minister of Finance,*  
AND  
ROBERT ALEXANDER FALCONER, *President of the University  
of Toronto.*

*Gentlemen,—We praise men for worshipping “ideals”; we condemn them for worshipping “idols.” In root-origin and primary meaning the two terms are identical; but in moral signification and practical value they are separated by a world of difference. When, then, as it has often happened, a people’s ideals have become idols, such a people bow down to gods as false and demoralizing as the helpless graven images of the ancient heathen. Are we in Canada sure that our Faith in Democracy is not trust in an idol of wood or stone?—Are we sure that in our enthusiastic pursuit of democratic ideals we are bringing about a new dispensation of happiness on earth?*

Why should I ask these questions at all? and why should I address them to you, gentlemen? My answers are readily to hand. Permit me respectfully to submit them to your generous consideration.

When, some years ago, in one of his characteristically optimistic speeches, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier of Canada, said, as reported, that the Twentieth Century will be Canada’s century, he prophesied a glorious future for his country. He saw Canada become the home of a great people and the sphere of great industries. He saw the Canadians themselves evolve, politically, socially and commercially, into a people whose solidarity, progress and power would be in the eyes of the other nations in the twentieth century greater than these qualities were a century before in the people of the United States. As leader of the Canadian people it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s duty as well as privilege at that time to be, as he was, the mouthpiece of Destiny,—positive, optimistic and eloquent in his utterances.

Now, in all likelihood it is thought that what makes Canada

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so conspicuous to-day in the eyes of the world is the fact that its immense areas and natural resources are already being used in the loom of time to weave the destiny which its patriotic and illustrious Premier prophesied. Yet, gentlemen, this is not the significant fact for us. All the areas and resources of Canada are means and instruments of its people,—their sphere and opportunity. The significant fact is this: In this sphere and with these immeasurable resources, which are to be transmuted into spiritual instruments and possessions, the Canadian people, a free self-governing people, now beginning to realize a national consciousness, *must show the world, by achievements of perfection in Democracy, the truth of democratic ideals and the right of democracy to exist.*

I need not turn to submit the historical and political grounds for my proposition; I put the matter now rather as a postulate:—the eyes of the world are on Canada because in the twentieth century democracy will be “on trial” there. It was on trial in France, and failed. It is still on trial in the United States, but obstructing ancestral practices and centrifugal social tendencies are causing it, temporarily at any rate, to fail. On the other hand, since the Canadian Confederation was originally and consciously a democratic political union as such, the nations are intent on observing how a people free from all obstructing traditions and disintegrating tendencies may show the world the true nature of democracy, and, by the perfection of its achievements in political and social life, the right of democracy to be. This, in my view, rather than the immeasurable areas and infinite resources of the Dominion, is what will make Canada the “most solemn fact” (to use Professor Barrett Wendell’s phrase for the United States) in the history of the twentieth century. I conceive it, therefore, just and necessary for us to ask,—Are we in Canada sure that our Faith in Democracy is not trust in an idol of wood or stone?—Are we sure that in our enthusiastic pursuit of democratic ideals we are bringing about a new dispensation of happiness on the earth?

That I address these questions to you, gentlemen, in no wise makes you sponsors for the ideas which the essay contains. That I aim to engage your sympathetic consideration of my problems is obvious. The propriety and advantage, however, lie chiefly in the fact that I remark in the “careers” of both of you the conspicuous and admirable results of that genuine democracy, the unobserved but essential character of which, along with its

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nature and purpose, I shall later on define. In the meantime, without detailing your excellent history, what is noteworthy about your careers is not the fact that they have brought you to high positions of influence, not the fact that they are extraordinary and picturesque, but that they have been realized by developing your natural talents through difficulty as well as opportunity, *absolutely without aid from caste, privilege or preferment, and that your careers are typical of what any native-born Canadian, whatever his social origin or status, may freely achieve.* Phrased as a general proposition, if your careers mean anything, they mean this:—Under genuine democracy (the nature and function of which I have yet to define), origins have no significance in any sphere; aspiration, effort, merit and achievement alone are significant and effective, and they alone are admired and abundantly rewarded.

There is another aspect of the matter, gentlemen, which I must signalize. Both of you are educated freemen, or, in your social and intellectual history, what our American neighbors phrase, "men of the people." When properly applied this is a complimentary phrase. "A man of the people" is one who in his career passes by normal and regular stages through the essential experiences and modes of thought of every class amongst a free and self-governing people. Your social and intellectual history began under the most democratic of all institutions,—the "school." There the poor and the rich, the ill-mannered and the well-bred, the weak and the strong, the stupid and the gifted, congregated and were taught together, without respect to person or condition. All were viewed simply as minds, equally valuable in spiritual potentialities, and therefore were to be treated with equal consideration, in order that all might have the same equipment and chance to become the best which their native powers could make them by trained intelligence and persistent endeavor.

Now, this meant for you, gentlemen, the beginning of a sympathetic understanding of your fellows whatever their social origin and later history. Further: in the evolution of your own careers you were compelled to pass through the spiritual experiences of every class; so that your knowledge of your fellows is first-hand and intimate. And just as, in the proper time and stage, you met the lowliest on equal terms; so, in natural course, you have met the highest on equal terms. In short: Under genuine democracy (which, as I shall show, has nothing to do with "equal rights") *your careers epitomize the social and spirit-*

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*ual experiences of every class amongst a free and self-governing people.*

My office in this essay is that of observer, critic, and teacher. I have, therefore, signalized your careers as empirical proof of this proposition: *That species of Democracy has justified its own right to exist which, first, creates the right of every individual to the highest positions, and which, secondly, by removing all such obstructing agencies as caste, privilege and preferment, assists even the lowliest in origin to pass to equal dignity with the highest and to receive the just rewards of a worthy and excellent career.*

The main theme of this essay, to which I shall immediately turn, will, I hope, now appear momentous enough to warrant my submitting it to your sympathetic consideration.

Believe me, Gentlemen,

Most sincerely yours,

J. D. LOGAN.

TORONTO, February 8, 1908.

# Democracy and Education

## I.

### GENUINE DEMOCRACY DEFINED.

#### *Social Order vs. Equality.*

In connotation "democracy" is the most ill-used and futile descriptive term in our language. On the whole, to Europeans democracy connotes abstractly a glorious equality in political suffrage and social dignity; concretely, on the other hand, it means the transfer of governing power from the classes to the masses. The contradiction here between the abstract and the concrete meaning is quite unobserved. As it happens, in the European view the masses themselves are really a class, and democratic rule connotes the dominance of the less cultured, less intellectually trained—the "Philistine" class, in Arnold's phrase—over the socially and intellectually higher, if often less "moral," classes. This is only tyranny in disguise—"democratic tyranny," which in time would surely become domination by the mob, not by educated freemen. And in the pursuit of democracy Europe to-day, if it is tending towards reconstruction of government, is certainly on the way to socialistic anarchy. Further: the equality which looks so beautifully Utopian, far from being the fairest form of social order, would be, if operative, the total absence of it; and far from meaning solidarity and unity, would only result in destroying the chief motive for culture and social and industrial endeavor,—namely, the constitutional or acquired ambition to be "better" than a mere human being. Finally, it contradicts the psychological nature of man. Differentiation of mental and moral gifts is inevitable in every individual; and social order is only the expression of this differentiation in faculty and capacity of men, the envisagement of their thought and feeling, desires and volitions. Just as, to

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philosophical reflection, the popular heaven would be the most absurd, tiresome and futile—psychologically impossible—mode of happiness, so the beautiful abstract view of democratic equality, if concretely realized, would but result in the absolute non-existence of political suffrage and social order. The conception itself is what is known in philosophy as an *a priori* abstraction. Democracy of this conceptual type, were it realized in practice, would be mob rule and social anarchy,—which, of course, is the disproof of the truth of the European concept of Utopia.

*The first point to note, then, is that genuine democracy must be of a type which sanctions the existence of social order.* Granting this datum as fundamental, I turn to consider the principles of democracy as they have been phrased by that people whose daily practice does not insist on an impossible equality amongst men and does not contradict their abstract doctrine—who cling to public order as the self-evident and indubitable basis of society. The heart of the matter may be reached by trying to discover what our American neighbors mean by Equality in political suffrage and social status, and how Equality, as they mean it, is possible. Only by this method of criticism can we see the truth and construct a new ideal and definition.

*A priori* there is nothing more essentially sacred in democracy than in aristocracy or autocracy. If each were, as is conceivable, in their time and place equally wise, just and beneficent, then each would stand equally justified. Yet it is plain that when men see, or believe they see, in democracy a superiority over other systems of government and social order, they are cont asting the one as the human and temporary with the other as divine and eternal. The framers of the American Declaration of Independence believed that democracy has an absolute ground in reality. They were right; yet when they attempted to phrase the ground in reason, they clothed their ideas in a verbal garb borrowed from the language in which the French revolutionists phrased their *a priori* abstractions. The proof of democracy lies in the spiritual benefits which flow from it, not in any verbal dogmas about equality and inalienable rights of men, however noble these dogmas may be. If democracy excludes all the possible ills of other modes of government and includes some-

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thing over and above their benefits, then its own nature and functions, in perfection, are its sole justification. We may readily enough discover this by respectful and sympathetic criticism of some of the reverend phrases of the American Declaration of Independence.\*

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," so reads the Declaration, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness—." At the bar of reason the reverend and sincere proposition that all men are created equal turns out to be a verbal dogma. Equal—in what, or before whom or what? Certainly men are not created equal in physical or mental constitution, or in social condition, or in political suffrage and legal rights. And yet the framers of the Declaration must have had an intuition of some self-evident and definitive truth in their proposition of equality and inalienable rights. The difficulty, I believe, is a matter of incoherent or awkward phrasing. The more we reflect on the "clauses" of the Declaration, the more, I am convinced, we shall come to see that the second and third propositions are logically not separate and equally important clauses with the first, but are related to the first as subordinate and explanatory propositions. Revised to make logical coherence, the three clauses would form one proposition, reading—"All men are created equal in their inalienable right to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

*The second point, then, to note in the present discussion, is that to assert that all men have an inalienable equal right to life, liberty and (the pursuit of) happiness is to deny the fundamental datum of genuine democracy, namely, the necessity of social order (See p. 10).* For the practice of the proposition, the actual insistence on equal rights to life, liberty and happiness, would only end in the total destruction of society. Put the proposition into actual practice in our concrete world of affairs, then it must happen that my right to life means the destruction of

\* As one who is an alumnus of the oldest American University, who has lived fourteen years in the United States, who has taught in its schools and colleges, and who has been a student of its political, social and commercial phenomena, I have nothing but admiration for the "Declaration" and gratitude for the benefits I received. My criticism is to be regarded as a method of reaching a new definition of democracy, and it contains nothing captious, disrespectful or inhuman.

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other life, my right to liberty means the subversion of others' liberties, and my right to happiness means not only lack of enjoyment for others, but positive unhappiness and intolerable existence. There is no logical hair-splitting in this; for here is society extant and organized, denying by its penal codes, marriage enactments, educational methods, other institutions and practices, that any individual has an absolute and equal right to anything, life itself included.

A similar paradox or contradiction appears when men assert the equal right of every class to have a hand in political government. "Election by majority vote," as an abstract principle, reduces democracy to so palpable an absurdity that society denies its truth or expediency by arbitrary and unequivocal restrictions. For the abstract principle means that anyone has an inalienable right to offer himself as a candidate for any office, to be nominated, if possible, for that office, and to assume its functions if regularly elected to it by majority vote,—by "the people." Yet it is plain that in this case the majority vote is practically a "class" vote, and that if no restrictions were put upon eligibility for office, the unfit and the rogue or positive villain (which indeed often happens) might rule over the truly just and elect. But this itself would only be democratic tyranny; it would be an evil which would result in mismanagement and corruption of office, and perhaps nothing worse. The essential absurdity of the abstract principle lies in the fact that it creates a danger which it must at once set about to circumvent; and behold, the cure for the evil is a thousandfold worse than the evil itself. That is to say—if, by the abstract principle, rogues may with as much right as the just rule the State, the only cure for this is the further right to vote upon a majority vote, and to vote again and again; but such a course is itself political and social anarchy. Yet the principle of majority vote is conceived and applied as the indubitably just principle which will ensure perfection in political and social order—the sane and happy rule of all the people. In the abstract the idea of democracy is powerful over the imagination because men's attitude to it is æsthetic or moral: a full and complete "mass vote" is ideally the perfect arrangement—beautiful to contemplate, like all ideal syntheses of variety in unity; but in reality a "majority vote" is effective because it is essentially a "class vote"—the vote of the sane, intelligent and orderly.

Let it be observed, then, that the framers of the doctrine

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of equality in inalienable rights to life, liberty and happiness, or the doctrine of universal political suffrage, mistake these as the causes of democracy, whereas they are its effects; social order is original and primary; life, liberty and happiness are derivative and secondary. In the conspectus of genuine democracy there can be no such goal as equality, no such possession as natural right. Whatever of these belongs to any individual has been vested in his person justly by his first consenting to the absolute righteousness of public or social order. In other words, as Plato centuries ago saw it, outward public order is both the expression and the condition of the inward order of the human soul; and they are as integral as the convex and concave of a sphere—unthinkable apart and necessary for real existence.\* Genuine democracy will base itself on this fundamental datum: All men have one, and only one, inalienable right, grounded in their psychical nature and origin, namely, *the absolute right to equal participation in spiritual goods*. To secure the free and just distribution of these goods society must be organized and public order maintained without respect to any individual's birth, caste, condition, gifts or inheritances. Genuine democracy is orderly idealism in every stage and department of social life, born of spiritual necessity and instituted to put every individual in full possession of his spiritual birthright, the freedom, sphere and opportunity to realize perfection of being.

How unnatural and futile the traditional Utopian conception of democracy is may be illustrated by a biological phenomenon. How righteous and logical the conception of democracy defined in this essay is may be illustrated by a familiar social problem, pressing to-day for immediate solution.

Such a Utopian view of equality as is familiarly known under the name of "community life" is the result of an *à priori* psychology, and its futility has its analogy in the biological field under the phenomenon of "Reversion to Type." In his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Henry Drummond remarks: "Suppose a bird-fancier collects a flock of tame pigeons distinguished by all the infinite ornamentations of their race. They are of all kinds, of every shade of color, and adorned with every variety of marking. He takes them to an uninhabited island and allows

\* The *locus classicus* of Plato's doctrine is the *Republic*, Bks. II and IV. The spiritual structure—*áipovia* ('harmony') as he called it—of the soul is the 'ideal form' or 'cause' of public order: the State is only the individual soul "writ large"; the two are essential and complementary relatives.

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them to fly off wild into the woods. They found a colony there, and after the lapse of many years the owner returns to the spot. He will find that a remarkable change has taken place in the interval. The birds, or their descendants rather, have all become changed into the same color. The black, the white and the dun, the striped, the spotted and the ringed have all been metamorphosed into one—a dark slatey blue. Two plain bands monotonously repeat themselves upon the wings of each, and the loins beneath are white; but all the variety, all the beautiful colors, all the old graces of form, it may be, have disappeared. . . . It is as if the original bird, the far remote ancestor of all doves, had been blue, and these had been compelled by some strange law to discard the badges of their civilization and conform to the ruder image of the first. The natural law by which such a change occurs is called *The Principle of Reversion to Type.*"

There is a psychological law of Reversion to Type which the theorists of "community life" overlook. Let any number of men establish a colony, say, on some island; let them be given equally desirable parcels of land, housing and material equipment, and let all live under the law that every one shall count for one and none for more than one. Here, then, surely, all are of the same kind—equal in the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and this Utopian democracy should work out the fullest bliss for all. But no; for these are not human beings; they are merely spiritual automata—conceivably possible, yet as unknown and unreal as the mermen of fairy lore. Grant, however, that they are human and real. Then, since each individual is identical only in outward circumstances, but different in mental and moral potentialities, their differences will eventually express themselves in conduct. All begin life on a scale of flat equality; but in spite of themselves all will revert to the type of human nature which, as they thought so confidently, they had discarded by merely agreeing to act as if they were dehumanized. Their natural powers, appetites and ambitions will assert themselves, and some will do more, gain more, desire more in spiritual goods and less in material possessions, than others, with the result that equality will disappear in every department of life. Socially viewed, there will be a reversion to type, that is, to what was immemorial in their former estate, namely, the unequal distribution *both* of material and of spiritual goods. Genuine democracy recognizes the naturalness, the inevitableness of the unequal distribution of worldly possessions, and freely consents to it; but,

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on the other hand, genuine democracy demands that there shall be equal distribution of spiritual possessions. It is the only system of government which can be fully just to all the characteristics and ideals of human nature and society.

Again: How logical and righteous genuine democracy is may be illustrated by the problem of "Equality of the Sexes." In accordance with our fundamental principle, sex equality should be demanded on the only ground which can create or constitute a right to it—namely, the spiritual nature of men and women. The battered witticisms, which run as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the problem, are futilities which miss the essential aspect of the demand for equality. The real question is—Are men and women equal in spiritual birthright? Equality of the sexes as a right was first supplied with a "proof" by George Fox, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Although Fox applied his proof to the sphere of religion, I am interested only in the proof itself, which in somewhat more philosophical language than Fox used, would run as follows: There is no *a priori* ground for believing (prejudging) that as a vehicle of God's message man is a whit more important and necessary than woman; the Deity may choose to speak through the latter as much as through the former. Since both were created in the image of God, and, as spiritual beings, are the servants of God, the only reasonable thing to do is to listen for "the voice" (of the Holy Spirit), and to praise the Deity that Sister A has uttered the truth as on another occasion it was uttered by Brother A. Thus did Fox establish the right of sex equality on spiritual grounds. The Foxian doctrine, though a dogma on his part, has philosophical warrant which is too technical for me to present in this essay. Suffice it at once to make an application of the doctrine as it would be carried out by genuine democracy. If, as granted, woman equally with man is by nature the child of God, and his minister, her potentialities create the right for her to participate in full spiritual enfranchisement—to secure all those spiritual qualities and goods, such as education and social freedom, which will give her the completest opportunity and widest sphere for a useful and worthy life. Once more, then, genuine democracy is the only system of government which can be fully just to all the characteristics and ideals of human nature and society.

Democracy thus conceived and practised means a new dispensation of happiness on the earth. It is the perfection of orderly

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idealism in every stage and department of life; it demands, not equality, but essential brotherhood and unity, of classes; it insists on the absolute necessity of social order; it consents to the unequal distribution of material goods, while it aims to secure equal distribution of spiritual goods, —civility, culture, honorable station, decent independence and influential vocation.

### II.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS OF EDUCATION.

##### *Effectuation of Powers vs. Scholarship.*

Mankind's one priceless spiritual possession is the equal right of all, without respect to sex, birth or condition, to education. The day has passed when education was regarded as a privilege of the higher classes. To-day education, even under what purports to be a democracy, is in the stage in which it is becoming so general that it is assuming the character of a right. The democracy which conceives education to be something so good that it is worth while encouraging the spread of it amongst all classes may be generous in its own view, but its generosity is only a species of smug paternalism. Genuine democracy, on the other hand, will extend educational enfranchisement to all as an original spiritual right, and as the first and most vital instrumentality in promoting well-ordered political and social life. In this rational and large conspectus education includes the primary means to Culture, Honorable Station, Decent Independence and Influential Vocation. We may observe how these ideals work out their justification under genuine democracy.

If man's most priceless possession is the right to education, then the best possession of democracy must be its genuinely educated men and women,—not because these are the "flower" of its civilization and government, but because they are the "forces" which create its ideals and most assist in keeping its government sane, orderly, idealistic and righteous. This, of course, is not an obvious proposition. For the conventional view is that the officers of a democratic government, the public

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men of a democracy, are its leaders, and most efficient servants. I am speaking here of those who are public servants or political leaders as such. There is a psychological distinction which justifies my proposition. It is an accident, of course, that usually political leaders are not men of first-rate intellectual power, and the fact has no significance. But it is significant that these men are men of resource and action rather than "thinkers" who closely study all social phenomena, derive principles from these, create ideals and disseminate knowledge about their character and worth. Further, political leaders affect and direct the volitions of a people; their discourse is almost always argumentative and hortatory. On the other hand, the leaders of thought address the intellect; their discourse is explanatory or descriptive, conveying ideas to the understanding. In short, public men and political leaders only aim to apply in government the principles which the "thinkers" of a democracy—the educated freemen of influence—have thought out as rational and desirable, and which they have made part of the common consciousness. Plato believed that Utopia would be only when political leaders were also thinkers; aside from the psychological impossibility of the ideal, the real identity of the two is not necessitated by their respective provinces or functions. All that we have to note is that, fundamentally viewed, the greatest forces in orderly and efficient democracy are not its public men and political leaders as such, but the body of educated private citizens, active in every department of thought. Without general culture democracy cannot conceive, much less attain, the ideals of sane and beneficent self-government. I put this down, then, as the first educational law of democracy: *A self-governing people must above all things be a cultured people.*

The ideal of culture has as completely changed as the ideal of a University President, by reconceiving its nature and extending its field. Logically, the university president who remains a mere scholar, and does not become an "all round" man, can have no right to office in our day; he would be an anachronism and a futility. Just so, culture which is only scholarship in language, literature, mathematical science and philosophy, valued as a private luxury, or exact knowledge of law, medicine and theology, valued as an exclusive property of the members of the learned professions,—culture of this sort cannot be the ideal of

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"educated freemen" under genuine democracy. It, too, would be an anachronism and a futility. In the ideal democracy, culture represents the effectuation of men's (and women's) intellectual and moral powers, whatever be their direction and scope—adequate training for skilled employment of faculties in whatever field men and women, individually, can be most useful and successful. Modern education or culture, as Dr. Draper puts it, "trains one for work which may distinguish one. Cultivated aimlessness is no longer the accepted ideal of American [democratic] scholarship. Culture which is not the product of work, either mental or manual, with some definite point to it, is held to be at second-hand, only skin-deep, and not to be taken seriously. It must not be said that mere strength and steadiness in holding a job are the marks of an educated man. There must be native resourcefulness and versatility, sound training and serious study, discrimination in means and methods, and rational application to real things in life in ways that bring results of some distinct worth to the world. It makes little difference *what* one does, but one must do something. The all-important fact is not that real learning may now be found in all businesses—though that is important—but that one must do something of recognized value to be held a scholar. It may be not only in letters, or science, or law, or medicine, or theology, but it may also be in administration, in planning and constructing, in mechanics, in agriculture, in banking, in public service, in anything else worth while. . . .

"If one's powers of observation, of investigation, of expression, and of accomplishment, lead one to do something of real concern, to do it completely and quite as well as, or better than, others can do it, and impel one to open up new vistas and methods of doing other things of larger moment, such an one has a better right to be held an educated man than he who incubates the unattainable and brings forth nothing."\*

This democratic conception of education or culture has its psychological warrant in the fact that minds are properly to be

\* Addresses by Andrew S. Draper, Commissioner of Education (for New York State). In an essay entitled, "Social Evolution and Advertising," published in The Canadian Magazine, Feb., 1907, the present writer was able to show that Business Publicity has at last been raised to the dignity of a profession within the department of Letters. Those who plan, design and write business publicity of this order would come under Dr. Draper's definition, which is the democratic definition, of educated or cultured men.

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viewed, not as receptacles of wood or stone, but as active entities which have different faculties, capacities, aptitudes and modes of expression, and which, therefore, can be properly developed only by a pedagogical system which supplies an ample number of educational agencies, literary, scientific, technological, or what not, for training adequately the diverse powers of human minds. And this, again, harks back to the profounder warrant which was discovered at the basis of Fox's doctrine of Equality of Sexes. Who are the educationally elect is not a problem in genuine democracy. For though the democratic system insists on the equal right of all, classes and masses, to culture, this is both the morally just and the wholly wise system, because it is the only one under which men may be sure that the best minds will have the best opportunity to full increase and expression of their powers, while, at the same time, none but the base and foolish will fail to secure, according to individual capacity, their just share in the goods of the spirit. I put this down, then, as the second educational law of genuine democracy: *A self-governing people must establish a system of culture which will afford the fullest opportunities for every individual, irrespective of sex, birth or condition, to attain perfect fruition of intellectual and moral powers.*

And so I pass to my conclusion of the matter. This is not my place to outline a democratic system of education, with philosophic warrant, and I could not, if I would, instruct my betters in such a thing. I am interested only in inspiring an ideal of social conduct and educational endeavor. If culture, as we now understand it, were only something good to be encouraged, and not, as it really is, the vital basis of genuinely democratic government,—it would have been hardly worth my while to put the problems of this essay and to answer them in the way I have done. But it was certainly worth while to point out the nature and function of genuine democracy and education. Democracy, as we now conceive it, is no abstract Utopia, but essentially a system of orderly idealism in every stage and department of life. And education, as we now conceive it, is no mere luxury, but essentially the proper means by which a government may, in the words of President Eliot of Harvard, "produce the best constituted and most wisely directed intellectual and moral host that the world has seen."

Under genuine democracy men must consent to the necessary existence of social order and the unequal distribution of material

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goods. For without these extant and operative, there could be no equal distribution of culture and its concomitant goods; still more, there could not be for all, male or female, low-born or high-born, the incentive, opportunity and means freely to achieve the most worthy and excellent career in their power. Genuine democracy desiderates, not equality, but brotherhood and unity of all classes, and guarantees to all culture and the enduring satisfactions of life. If we love democracy and effectuate its fairest form, then have we brought on earth a new dispensation of happiness.

